A LETTER TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES;

WITH

Some REMARKS on the Manner in which the WAR has been conducted.

To which are added,

Certain TERMS, humbly propoſed as a Ground-Work of a RECONCILIATION.

BY A GENTLEMAN,
For many Years a Reſident in AMERICA.

——— Audi
Quo Rem deducam.

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TO

LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.

My Lord,

AS you are deſervedly placed at the head of the American department, and are accountable to your country for the propriety of your adminiſtration; permit me to ſay a word to your Lordſhip, on the ſubject of our public affairs; that *you*, as a miniſter, may throw my remarks into the ſcale of your deliberations; and *I*, as a citizen, offer my *mite* towards promoting the welfare of this Kingdom.

The brevity of conferences with your Lordſhip at your Levees, and the abſurd difficulty of private acceſs to men in authority, render it impoſſible for a man in my retired ſituation, to addreſs you in any other way, than by letter. That method I have here purſued, and in a public manner, that the world, as well as your Lordſhip, may be acquainted with my ſentiments; that if the facts I advance are untrue, or my reaſoning fallacious, your Lordſhip may be better informed; and not be miſled by opinions, which will not ſtand the teſt of the moſt liberal diſcuſſion.

I have not preſumption enough to ſuppoſe, that what I can ſay, will be new to your Lordſhip, or any other perſon, who may be at the trouble of peruſing this little performance; the ſubject has been too much beaten already, by abler pens, to admit of novelty on my part: all that I propoſe is, to give a freſh ſpring to argument, and to call the public attention to that critical point, in which Great Britain appears to me to ſtand, at this juncture; that if I am not an inſtructor, yet I may do the office of a monitor, and caution againſt evils which threaten this diſtracted nation. In a controverſy that is trivial, and where the ſuffrage of an individual is of no conſequence, let men, fond of diſputation, wage war with one another as warmly as they pleaſe; a moderate man need take no ſhare in it; but in a diſpute of ſo momentous a nature, as to involve in it miſchiefs, which, if not attended to, may ſhake the very foundation of Government, ſilence in every one, (who at leaſt in ſpeaking his mind, hopes to be uſeful) *then* becomes criminal.

A word or two more to your Lordſhip, and then my preface ſhall be ended. I wiſh to have it underſtood, my Lord, that I am no flatterer. Adulation, which, as I conceive, implies the ſordid gift of praiſe to one who does not merit it, is as deteſtible a vice to me, as the vilifying a character which deſerves applauſe. It is an incenſe I never offer, and I hold in contempt the man who wiſhes to receive

receive it: yet, as a friend to truth, a deity I never offended, I am at all times ready to give every commendation, which I think is due to virtue. If a Miniſter has done *well*, we cannot be too laviſh in his praiſes; but if he has done *ill*, and from a wicked intention, no rank or fortune ought to protect him from the ſevereſt reproaches and execration of his country. Had your Lordſhip's conduct appeared to me to have been of the latter kind, my language would have varied very much from what you will here find it to be; but as, from the matureſt and moſt diſpaſſionate reflection, it has, in my apprehenſion, borne every mark of integrity and diſcernment, I cannot avoid giving this teſtimony of my approbation of it.

America, and its affairs, *ſeem* to be ſo well known, that mankind in general ſpeak as familiarly of them, as about events which happen in their own neighbourhood; yet, in fact, there are few who know more of them, than they do about that great Kingdom, which we are told from the higheſt authority—is to come. Without any information, but what they collect from the daily papers, (and a man muſt have the credulity of a ſaint, to believe one word in ten which is there related) without being acquainted with the number or diſpoſition of troops in a battle, the ſituation of a country; and what is ſtill more illiberal, without paying the leaſt regard to the reputation of a ſoldier, they deal out their cen-

ſures on men and meaſures, as freely as they ſwear at a waiter in a tavern, whoſe only fault perhaps may be, his being a witneſs of their nocturnal exceſſes. So fluctuating are they at the ſame time in their opinions, that if the Rebels give way to the ſuperior force of the Britiſh Legions, they are immediately pronounced to be the greateſt poltroons upon earth; but if, by a reverſe of fortune, they happen to gain an advantage over the Royal Army, then they become the braveſt troops, and Mr. Waſhington the greateſt general that ever was at the head of a body of men; and ſome ladies, fired with the *etherial ſpirit* of Patriotiſm, which would be praiſe-worthy on another occaſion, think of ſending him portraits of their fair perſons, which would be more flattering, and do him more honour, than if they were to preſent him with caſkets filled with the richeſt jewels.

If a commanding officer thinks it prudent to decline an engagement, and wait for a more favourable opportunity to make an attack, rather than riſk a defeat, and thereby endanger the great cauſe for which he is contending, he is charged with want of courage, tales are fabricated about his diſſipation, and amours; and lucre, and not the good of his country is ſuppoſed to be the governing principle of his actions; and yet, if from neceſſity, accident, or more probably the agency of the Rebels themſelves, a town is burned, or a ſtack of hay deſtroyed, then he

is condemned for having over-acted his part; and is ſaid to be as mercileſs, as the ſavages who are employed in his ſervice.

If, upon a *neceſſary* and extenſive plan of operations, a general is ordered to march through a woody country, take poſts, and open communications, &c. &c. if, from a ſeries of uncommon circumſtances, he fails in his attempt, and to ſave the lives of his fellow ſoldiers, ſurrenders upon the moſt honourable terms to his adverſary, rather than commit an act of deſperation; he is firſt taught to believe he was *devoted* by the miniſtry, and then, in his turn, has his misfortunes increaſed, by the envenomed ſtings of cenſure and ridicule. To judge of an enterprize by no rule but that of ſucceſs, is a weakneſs of the mind, and betrays a want of generoſity, which is the moſt exalted virtue in the human ſoul; to make frail man anſwerable for conſequences, unleſs a power was given to him, which no mortal ever poſſeſſed, is unreaſonable. It is ſufficient to *deſerve ſucceſs*, a misfortune not to obtain it. When gentlemen are remote from their native land, acting in ſupport of the injured honour of their country, and expoſed to every hazard and inconvenience which war can occaſion, not to be tender of the characters of ſuch men; but on the contrary, wantonly to publiſh the moſt injurious reports of them, is a cruelty that would be diſdained by the ſavages themſelves, who have of late been ſo much abuſed,

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and, to the diſhonour of Britiſh freedom, is to be found *only* among the *ſons of Liberty*.

If gentlemen of ſuch caſt would be pleaſed to ſuſpend their vehemence, and wait for information, which *can* be relied on; they would find, I am perſuaded, that the delays and diſapointments complained of, proceeded not from any imperfection in the plans of the miniſter, or want of ability or reſolution in thoſe who were appointed to execute them; but from a conjuncture of events, which no human being could foreſee, or ability render ineffectual. In all ages and in all places the fate of war has been uncertain, much more muſt it be ſo, in a country, (where a late ſurrender was made) incompaſſed with mountains, and in large portions of it, trackleſs to all but the wild beaſts which frequent it. A country incapable of affording a ſupply of proviſions; and lying ſo immediately on the back of the moſt populous provinces, that the firſt attempt to poſſeſs ſuch an imhoſpitable region, might prove abortive; without exciting any great alarm, ſtrengthening the enemy, or adding one ray of hope, of their being ſucceſsful on any other occaſion. I would aſk any one acquainted with America, whether General Burgoyne's orders for opening a communication between Canada and Sir William Howe, were not *indiſpenſibly* proper? Whether the Americans can be ſubdued in any other manner, than by driving them from their back country, which otherwiſe would afford them

them an aſylum when forced from their lower or maritime ſettlements ? and laſtly, whether this great deſign can be carried into execution in any other more affectual method, than by having the command of the lakes, deſtroying their forts, and making Albany a place of ſtrength and importance ? I am hardy enough to think, that no one will anſwer in the negative, to theſe propoſitions. If then the plan was a judicious one, to whom is honour due ? If it was not as happily executed, as it was wiſely deſigned, to whom is the blame to be aſcribed ? To this laſt queſtion I will anſwer, not to the miniſter ; and we ought to entertain too high an opinion of the gallant officer who was to perform theſe ſervices, to lay it at his door. We ſhould therefore conſider the failure as a misfortune which could not be prevented, and derive to ourſelves thoſe advantages which the diſappointment *may* give us, *if* our *future* efforts are vigorous, and our unanimity *more* prevailing.

When the Rebels fled ſo precipitately from General Burgoyne at Ticonderoga, the moſt important fortreſs they held, and which they boaſted was impregnable; who could have imagined that the troops he had with him were not ſufficient to make their way to Albany, where his difficulties would have ceaſed ? If that general's quota of troops had been larger than it was, the augmentation might have weakened other diviſions of the army ; by which a more deciſive miſcarriage than his

ſurrender might have happened. And if the number of troops in America were not ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe of the war, it proceeded from the contracted ideas of the gentlemen in oppoſition, who being enemies to the war in all its ſhapes, rung an alarm through the nation as to the expence of it, and threw every impediment in the way, which was likely to cauſe diſappointment and bring down cenſure on the miniſter.

Things are now my Lord brought to a criſis; if negociation fails, you muſt either give up America, or with redoubled energy renew your endeavours to ſubdue it. For the honour of this nation let the latter be adopted. There is nothing wanted to cruſh rebellion, and bring the Rebels to a ſenſe of their folly, but a proper force. Let it never be ſaid in the annals of this Kingdom, that a time has exiſted when this great empire could not correct the inſolence of her ſons, however firm they might have been in their diſobedience, or powerfully ſupported by foreign aſſiſtance. Misfortunes to generous minds act only as incentives to nobler exertions. When the Romans were ſubjugated by the Samnites, the greateſt diſhonour that could happen to a war-like people; did they fall into private bickerings, traduce one another, and timidly offer an accommodation to their enemies? No, my Lord, they united more cloſely; declared war againſt thoſe nations who had aſſiſted the Samnites, and by an effort glorious to themſelves, and exam-

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plary to mankind, vanquiſhed their enemies, and replaced their dignity throughout their dominions. If this piece of hiſtory was related in the mode of a fable, the moral would ſerve as an inſtructive leſſon to the preſent times. The Americans, my Lord, notwithſtanding all their vaunted triumphs, are, at this moment ſubdued; and muſt, if this country, does not, by its languor, invite them to hold out longer, acknowledge it, and give the point up. They are divided in their councils, and ſome of their delegates have left the congreſs, diſcontented with its proceedings. The people are far from being unanimous; and it is unanimity alone, if any thing, which can give them ſucceſs. They are deſtitute of cloathing; and ſalt, which is an element to them, is not to be purchaſed. The French ſupply them with a little tinſel, and articles of ſmall value; but things of real uſe, are not to be had amongſt them, at any price. Their teſt oath is adminiſtered to all perſons above the age of ſixteen, by which they ſwear forever to renounce the authority of George the Third, and perpetually to maintain, the independence of the united colonies. Confiſcation of property and baniſhment attend all, who refuſe to take this oath; though the ſufferers may have ſworn fifty times before, to bear true allegiance to their lawful Sovereign. Such deſpotiſm as this, cannot be of long duration. The ſeverity, with which, thoſe are treated who offend againſt one *tittle* of their law, and the

want of protection, keep the friends of government from ſhewing their abhorrence of the daring uſurpation of the Congreſs. But perſecution, which ever increaſes the number of proſelytes, and compulſive oaths, which are the offspring of ſuſpicion, on the one hand; and the want of the neceſſaries of life on the other; added to the unremitting ſteadineſs of government, muſt in the end, if things are *left to take their courſe*, do the buſineſs. The picture I have drawn of theſe infatuated men, is not, my Lord, an imaginary one. Facts are too obſtinate to be denied. As men, I lament the wretchedneſs of their condition; as members of this great empire, their ſyſtem I hold in deteſtation. I muſt repeat again, my Lord, that the game is up with them. Men are mortal, and fortitude has its boundaries; and unleſs this country thwarts the evident tendency of things in its favour, I have not a doubt, but that peace, in a ſhort ſpace of time, will be reſtored to all his Majeſty's dominions,

Eſto perpetua.

A mighty clamour has been raiſed about employing the Indians againſt the Americans, which, for argument ſake, I ſhall take for granted, was done in conſequence of orders from this place. We have been told, that it was unprecedented; that it was unbecoming the character of a civilized people, to enter into an alliance with ſavages, whoſe delight is in cruelty; and much more ſo to engage

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them againſt the Americans; who, (notwithſtanding all endeavours on their part, to diſſolve every connection with this country,) are ſtill called our *brethren*, *friends*, and *countrymen*.

War, my Lord, to an Indian, is a profeſſion. He has no other way of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, whilſt living, or immortalizing his name after his death, but by his valour, proved by the number of ſcalps he can produce. Relations of victories are little attended to; ſcalps are the only evidence of his proweſs. He wants no provocation to lead him to war; he is a mercenary, and will engage on either ſide, where he finds it moſt to his advantage to be concerned. In a war carried on in his own country, his inclination to take a part could not be doubted; neutrality would have cut off every proſpect of being ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life. In the preſent diſpute, the Indians knew that their aſſiſtance would be ſollicited from both ſides; their compliance was reſerved for the higheſt bidder. The Americans made the firſt application to them; they waited to hear the propoſitions of this country, terms were offered and approved of, and they were inliſted in the Britiſh ſervice. Theſe people have always been employed in the wars of America. In the laſt war, many of their tribes were ſo cloſely connected with the French, that they were almoſt incorporated with them. The ſons of Canada married Indian women, and the ſtricteſt friendſhip

was cultivated between the two nations. General Amherſt employed them. General Forbes had many in his ſervice when he took Fort Duqueſne, and General Waſhington, when he commanded a body of troops raiſed in Virginia, was never without them. The Virginians were ſo ſenſible of their importance, that, when they found them backward in joining them, they endeavoured to *frighten* them into an alliance; for their Aſſembly gave a reward of ten pounds for every male Indian enemy's ſcalp, above the age of twelve, and afterwards augmented it to forty pounds per head. This anſwered a double purpoſe; for not only the Indians, but the French I fear, had reaſon to lament the bounty of that Aſſembly. When the ſcalp was preſented, and the premium demanded, no queſtions were aſked; the trophy paſſed under the denomination of an Indian ſcalp. In 1776, the Convention of Virginia ſent a deputation to ſome of the neighbouring Indian Tribes, in order to obtain their aſſiſtance *againſt the Engliſh*, pointed out a method in which they were to be inliſted, and appropriated a ſum of money for the pay and ſupport of them: and leſt the Indians ſhould imagine that this invitation had not the ſanction of the Congreſs, they directed their Commiſſioners to inform them, that it was the *ſenſe of the Congreſs, in their reſolution of July, that they ſhould be engaged.* This proves, my Lord, inconteſtibly, that the Congreſs (if the Virginia Convention knew

knew any thing of their inclination) wiſhed to avail themſelves of the aid of the Indians; and that the famous reſolution of that body, which has been artfully handed about as a mark of their *tenderneſs* to this country, was meant to procure their *active* ſervices, if poſſible; if not, at leaſt their neutrality; and thereby to guard againſt their enmity, if they could not poſſeſs their friendſhip. None of theſe facts, my Lord, are aſſerted without book: every American, who is in England at this time, muſt know them to be true; but authentic proofs can be produced, if the veracity of the relater is called in queſtion. Things being thus circumſtanced, what would have been ſaid of the Miniſter, if he had left General Burgoyne to be harraſſed by the Indians, in the route he was to take, and ſuffered the Americans to ſtrengthen themſelves by ſo powerful an alliance? The notes of his opponents would, I am confident, have been changed, the feelings of humanity would have been an unavailing plea in his defence, and thoſe very gentlemen, who are now condemning him for a contrary conduct, would have been the firſt amongſt his accuſers.

The end of war is to deſtroy an enemy, if he cannot be ſubdued in a leſs rigorous manner. That end is effected various ways; ſometimes with guns, ſwords, and bayonets, at other times by undermining and blowing an enemy into atoms; and amongſt the ſavages, with ſcalping knives and tomahawks. As to the perſon killed, it matters not by what wea-

pon or manner, he is deprived of life; and, as to the conqueror, I ſee no diſtinction in point of honour, whether he kills his adverſary with a ſword, or the more unfaſhionable implement, a tomahawk. It is a maxim with ſome nations, never to give quarter; and red hot balls are fired into beſieged towns; by which meaſure, numbers of innocent women and helpleſs children are conſumed to aſhes. Can any thing hurt our feelings more than a relation of ſuch diſaſters? And yet no nation is ſo humane, as to avoid an alliance with the firſt; or ſo ſcrupulous as not to practiſe the latter, when the ſituation of its affairs requires it. If we conſult the opinions of authors, who have treated on the ſubject of war and peace, we ſhall find them unanimous in declaring, that in war every thing is juſtifiable that is conducive to ſafety, unleſs it be the uſe of ſuch things as are prohibited either by the expreſs or tacit agreement of nations: that we may weaken or deſtroy our enemy in any manner we can, and call to our aſſiſtance any auxiliary, without excluding nations or perſons of any denomination whatſoever. And a modern writer of great repute, in his treatiſe on the law of nations, laughs at every diſtinction with reſpect to the *perſons* with whom we treat; ſaying, that ſecurity is the only object in theſe caſes, and that we negotiate with other powers as *men*, in an unconnected ſenſe; and not under any particular profeſſion or deſcription whatſoever. But, my Lord, independent

pendent of theſe conſiderations, the objection fails, in its very foundation; for the Indians are not ſuch cruel enemies, as by ſome they are miſtakenly ſaid to be. It is indeed true, that in ſome inſtances they put their captives to death in an excruciating manner; but the perſons whom they treat with this rigour, are generally ſuch as have rendered themſelves peculiarly offenſive, by their perfidy, their cruelty to others, or by having done ſomething which they hold to be ſingularly criminal. But men whom they take as priſoners, in the courſe of a war they, carry home with them, employ them as ſervants, and, after ſome time, when they have given ſufficient proofs of their fidelity, they are permitted to marry, and become one people with themſelves. Women and children are conſidered as the moſt valuable acquiſition they can make. The males they adopt in their families, and the females they marry; and, to the honour of an Indian chieftain it may be ſaid, that whilſt an European huſband is puzzled to know what to do with one wife; he can manage and keep quiet a dozen. Indians, my Lord, are termed ſavages, but how far they deſerve that appellation, may perhaps be made a ſubject of diſpute, by thoſe who are acquainted with them. It is true, that they are not Chriſtians, but they have an idea of a ſupreme Being; and pay their adoration to him as the King of kings *mentally*, but have no outward form or mode of worſhip. The

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ſimplicity of their lives requires but few laws; but ſuch as they have, are *univerſally* obeyed. Their knowledge extends only to things of common utility; beyond theſe, they think that ſcience is detrimental. In Virginia, there is an eſtabliſhment of the great Mr. Boyle's, for the education of Indians, to teach them to read and write, and to inſtil in them the principles of civilization and the Goſpel. Formerly, many of their boys were ſent thither, and were improved, according to the intention of that benevolent inſtitution; but of late, the office of the preceptor has been almoſt a ſinecure. A Governor of Virginia being in company with a number of Indian Chiefs, aſked them, why they diſcontinued ſending their youths, to receive the benefit of a ſchool which was founded for their improvement alone? After taking time to conſider the queſtion, they replied, that they did not think it an advantage to have their young men brought up among the Whites; for when they returned, though they were the beſt ſcholars, yet they were always the *greateſt villains* in their nation; and therefore they thought it more eligible to keep them at home, in ignorance, and make honeſt men of them, than ſend them to Virginia, give them learning, and put them to death for their roguery, when they return to their own country. Their conceptions are not very profound, but have great good ſenſe in them, and are conveyed in language, abounding

abounding with allegories, and ſimiles drawn from ſubjects that are moſt ſtriking and beſt known to every one. There is as much honeſty to be found amongſt them in their traffick, as perhaps, in any people upon earth. War and hunting are their delight. Whilſt they are engaged in theſe occupations, their wives remain at home, cultivate the land, and do the buſineſs of the family. They have a tradition amongſt them, that the Almighty permitted them to grow out of the earth, as the trees do; but one circumſtance will ſerve to prove, that they are the regular deſcendants of Noah; for, their fondneſs for *ſtrong drink*, as they call it, is unconquerable. Their intercourſe with the colonies has leſſened their numbers very conſiderably, owing to the rum they are ſupplied with, which is drank in great quantities by both ſexes. They have a ſingular cuſtom among them. Whenever a relation is killed, be it in peace or war, it becomes the buſineſs of the next of kin to revenge his death. If the deceaſed falls by the hand of one of their own people, the lex talionis is immediately inflicted on the author. If by the hand of a foreigner, Indian or White; if no other means of pacification offers itſelf, the avenger goes unattended into the country of the offender, let the diſtance be ever ſo far, and takes the ſcalp of the firſt perſon he meets; and then returns well ſatisfied, thinking that he has appeaſed the unhappy manes of his departed kinſman. When a warrior is taken

in battle, the conqueror cannot oblige him more, than by putting him to death with uncommon tortures, becauſe he conceives it to be a completion of his heroiſm, to die without complaining in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite torments. In ſhort, if the poſſeſſion of many virtues, ſullied but with few vices, can redeem theſe people from the imputation of being *Savages and Barbarians*, differing but little from the brutal part of the creation; theſe epithets are improperly applied to them; for every one acquainted with their hiſtory muſt allow, that excluſive of a little treachery in war, and perhaps ſome degree of cruelty more than is practiſed by better informed nations, (the only errors which I think can be attributed to them;) they fill up the narrow circle in which heaven has placed them, with as much dignity and propriety, as many do, in their enlarged ſpheres, who think it a crime to have any communication with thoſe untutor'd inhabitants of the weſtern hemiſphere. There is a variety of nations amongſt the Indians who are independent people; but they reſemble each other ſo much, that an account of one, will ſerve very well as a deſcription of them all.

Permit me, my Lord, to ſay a few words more as to employing the Indians, and then I ſhall take my leave of the ſubject.

Theſe aborigenes have a peculiar manner of fighting and carrying on their wars. They paint themſelves of the colour of the objects

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that ſurround them, inſidiouſly lie in wait for their enemies, attack them by ſurprize; and in battle, conceal themſelves behind trees and walls, or any thing elſe which will ſcreen them from the fire of thoſe with whom they are engaged. They follow their enemies great diſtances through the woods, being guided by the print or impreſſions of their feet on the ground, which, though but ſlight, very ſeldom eludes their ſagacity; and by the poſition of the buſhes, when they are miſplaced in the ſmalleſt degree, by thoſe who paſs through them. This manner of conducting themſelves ſeems calculated for the country which they inhabit, and frequently gives them great advantages over their enemies, as was proved in the unfortunate defeat of General Braddock; for the army which oppoſed his march, conſiſted chiefly of Indians, who filled the Britiſh ſoldiers ears with the moſt dreadful yells; but ſeldom gave them an opportunity of ſeeing the authors of the lamentable carnage which was made on that occaſion. The American woodſmen poſſeſs the ſame knowledge, and practice all the arts which are to be found among the Indian warriors. Suffer me to preſume, my Lord, that the Britiſh ſoldier is a ſtranger to both, diſdaining to protect himſelf in any other manner than by his bravery, and in the face of his adverſary. Was it not then very proper to engage the Indians to attend general Burgoyne, that they might ſcour the woods for

him, diſcover the rebels ſculking parties, attack them in their own way, and preſerve the Britiſh army for more important ſervices? The anſwer of every ingenuous mind muſt be in the affirmative.

Having made a few obſervations on thoſe great topics of converſation and noiſe, the unfortunate ſurrender of General Burgoyne, and the junction of the Indians with his army; I ſhall now take the liberty to mention to your Lordſhip what were the original ſources of diſcontent among the Americans, that if peace is reſtored, your Lordſhip may be a competent judge, what alterations it may be neceſſary to make, in their future government.

The period, my Lord, is not very far diſtant, when the Americans thought themſelves, and really were, the happieſt people under the ſun. They vied with each other in duty to their ſovereign; and in their deportment to the mother country, acted as became affectionate children. No ſuſpicions, as to the Parliament, rankled in their breaſts; no jealouſies interrupted their confidence; but one common intereſt ſeemed to pervade all his Majeſty's dominions. Such was their reverence for the Houſe of Hanover, that when the Scotch firſt went to ſettle amongſt them, though it was evident ſuch inhabitants would open ſome very advantageous branches of trade, and encreaſe the value of American commodities; yet they met with a cold reception;

ception; becauſe they were ſuppoſed not to be *loyal*, to the preſent family; but now the caſe is ſo much altered, that they will not ſuffer any of that people to continue longer with them; becauſe they cannot perſuade them to become, *diſloyal*. Whenever perſons were on a voyage to England, it was ſaid they were going *home*; an expreſſion which comprehended in it every acknowledgment that was neceſſary, to ſhew their union with and dependance on this country.

America, my Lord, is a country vaſt in its extent, and in its fertility, wonderful. It has inexhauſtible treaſures in its bowels; and its forreſts of timber are unbounded. Every climate is to be found within its limits; and every production of the earth will flouriſh in its boſom. No gloomy face of nature is to be found there; the elements ſeem to combine to diffuſe a chearfulneſs, and to give reſidence to health. Their rivers not only ſupply the inhabitants abundantly with fiſh; but afford them an eaſy communication with the ſea. No country can be better calculated for commerce; and the genius of the people has a turn to it. Happy, thrice happy might they have been, had they *known their own good*, and enjoyed in peace, thoſe bleſſings which heaven had beſtowed on them; but plenty and ſecurity begat pride, and pride; the baſis of all folly, begat diſcontent, and this in the end has reduced them to that deplorable ſtate, under which they now labour.

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When peace put an end to the laſt war, and the terrors which Canada excited, were removed, by a ceſſion of that country to his Majeſty, things began to wear a new appearance. As the Coloniſts thought they ſtood leſs in need of the aſſiſtance of the parent kingdom, their attachment to it declined in proportion. This diſaffection was not equal in all the Provinces; it prevailed in New England more than in the ſouthern governments. A doctrine was propagated, that as nature had made all men free; ſubordination was againſt her laws; although many thouſand Blacks were held in the moſt abject ſlavery by them. Nothing happened at that time of ſufficient notoriety, to enable any one to determine with preciſion how far their ſentiments extended; but this I can venture to ſay, that the paſſing the Stamp Act gave a deciſive blow to American loyalty. The taxes impoſed by this law, though they would have raiſed a very large ſum of money, conſiderably beyond what is generally imagined, were of little conſequence to the people, but as they enabled their demagogues to make a plauſible clamour againſt the Parliament: for they would have fallen chiefly on the litigious and mercantile; the former of whom ought never to be attended to in regulations of conveniency; and the latter would have recompenced themſelves in the courſe of their trade. The pretext of its being a dangerous precedent, was ridiculous. Every one knew,

knew, that there was no dearth of inſtances to prove, that the right of taxing the Colonies *internally*, had been frequently exerciſed by Parliament, without a murmur. A duty of one penny per pound, was laid on all tobacco tranſported from one plantation to another, to be *paid and collected* in the Colonies. King William gave that part of the duty, which was collected in Virginia and Maryland, to the college of William and Mary in Virginia. This was to all intents and purpoſes an *internal tax*, diſpoſed of at the Revolution, at a time when the conſtitution of England was *eſtabliſhed*; (or if this language is not approved of, I will ſay, when it was *reviewed*, and all the rotten parts of it were lopped off) and which was never queſtioned by the Americans' forefathers; who, if we may form a judgment from their writings and legiſlative proceedings, were as well acquainted with the Engliſh conſtitution, and as tenacious of their legal rights, as any of their enthuſiaſtic deſcendants are at this day. The idea of an inſeparable connection between Taxation and Repreſentation, excluſive of the powers of legiſlation, is a diſtinction which ſerved the purpoſe of debate; but I believe never entered into the head of any one, until it was broached, but the perſon who was the author of it. Such refinements ſuit very well the buſineſs of a lawyer, but ſound reaſoning alone, ought to influence the great Council of the nation. The inhabi-

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tants of America, though perhaps from their diſtance, they are under ſome diſadvantages, yet are as much repreſented, as a very large proportion of the people of Great Britain: and if any other repreſentation had been offered to them, they would have ſubmitted as ſoon to the Stamp Act, as accepted of it, unleſs their repreſentatives had been ſo numerous, as to conſtitute a majority in the Houſe of Commons. Every one muſt admit, that the adventurers, who firſt *ſettled* Britiſh North America, were the ſubjects of England. They emigrated under the protection of this country, accepted charters from the crown, and the Kings of England have ever ſince uninterruptedly, until the preſent diſpute, received their acknowledgment as ſendatories and ſubjects; and they have in numberleſs inſtances, in the moſt explicit manner, recognized the authority of Parliament over them. It is true, that America has never been annexed to, or made part of this empire, *expreſſly*, by act of Parliament, or by any other ſolemn inſtrument whatſoever: but as that country cannot be conſidered as a conquered one, but ceded to the Kings of *England*, and their *ſucceſſors*, by the different poſſeſſors, and ſettled by Engliſh ſubjects, who neither *could* nor *wiſhed* to ſhake off their allegiance; and as the Americans themſelves, by declaring all the laws of England, prior to their ſettlement in force amongſt them, the people of this country, and divers

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acts of parliament have, on many occaſions, conſidered it as a branch of this kingdom, ſuch a formality, although it might have had its uſe, yet certainly was not eſſentially neceſſary, to create a ſuperintendance in the Parliament over it. The want of this ceremony has led the Americans into an opinion of *late*, that they owe an allegiance to his Majeſty, as *their* King; but that the Parliament have no greater right to bind them, becauſe *their* Sovereign is King of England, than it has to bind the people of Hanover, for the ſame reaſon. They urge, (I am ſpeaking as if they were ſtill dependant) that from the nature of their government, they are ſubject to no other authority, but that of the King. Appeals, from their Courts of Juſtice, lie to the King and Council; Weſtminſter-hall being ſhut to them, though open to all other ſubjects; their laws become valid, when aſſented to by the King; and in the acts of grace, which have been granted to them by their Sovereigns, not a word is mentioned in them of the Parliament; from thence they infer, that as they ſend no repreſentatives, but are totally cut off from the Parliament, in all caſes but ſuch as are very much to their prejudice, if *they can be taxed by it*; they are the ſubjects of the *King*, but not of *Great Britain*. They were therefore willing to ſubmit to his Majeſty as *King of America*; but would by no means acknowledge the ſupremacy of Par-

liament over them. And 'tis obſervable, that the motto of the ancient arms of Virginia, was, *En dat Virginia Quartam*, ſuppoſing that that Country was as diſtinct from this, as either of the other two, which give additional titles to the Kings of Great Britain. If then, my Lord, the Emigrants who firſt ſettled North America, were the ſubjects of England; they certainly carried with them the laws and conſtitution of their country. Upon what principle then, can their deſcendants ſuppoſe themſelves to be out of the reach of Parliament, which holds a ſupreme power over all perſons and things belonging to the ſtate; and controuls and modifies every branch of the conſtitution as occaſion may require; a power which has been exerciſed from the beginning of time, as may be proved by the preſent exiſtence of Magna Charta, our great Palladium; which has received ſo many amputations; that there is ſcarce an entire limb of it, remaining at this day. If they claim this immunity from their charters, the argument will be ſtronger againſt them; for by theſe grants they are conſidered only as *Denizens*; and in *expreſs terms*, are prohibited from paſſing any acts of aſſembly, *repugnant* to the laws of England. If this reſtriction does not keep them within the power of Parliament, I know not what language could be found, to anſwer that purpoſe. Some very reſpectable writers have inſiſted, that the Stamp Act was in its nature unconſtitutional, becauſe it was intended

intended for general purpoſes; and yet *only* a ſmall part of the Empire, and that not including the repreſentatives of the people, was the object of it. But this appears to me to be arguing very vaguely. I own, that it is a great ſecurity to an Engliſhman in point of taxation, that no burden can be laid on him, but what is likewiſe impoſed on his repreſentatives; and 'tis admitted, that the Stamp Act affected the Americans *only*. But to put the matter on a fair footing, let me aſk this queſtion; will the Americans agree to be united with England, ſo that the whole expences of the Empire ſhall be equally, or in any juſt proportion, defrayed by the ſeveral branches of it? If they are inclined to come into this regulation, Great Britain I am confident will rejoice in ſuch an union; chearfully ſhare with them all their Provincial charges; and give them as free a trade, as the people of this Iſland now enjoy. To ſay therefore that the Americans ſhall not be taxed by Parliament, either by themſelves, or when joined with the people of this Kingdom for any purpoſe whatſoever; becauſe the firſt is partial, and in the other caſe they are not repreſented; is to declare in plain words, that they ſhall pay nothing towards the ſupport of government, but what they in their condeſcenſion may think proper to grant; which I take upon me to ſay, is an unreaſonable propoſition. If they are unable to bear the immenſe load of expences which the people of this country are obliged

to ſuſtain, let them contribute according to their ability; but let not the *quantum* of that ſupply depend on their aſſemblies; for though it has been ſaid, that they were always ready to give whenever applied to in that line; yet the hiſtory of the laſt war will contradict that aſſertion, and afford ſtrong reaſons to preſume, that upon an application for a quota, many of their aſſemblies would refuſe to give one ſhilling. It would be proper to leave to the reſpective aſſemblies the mode of raiſing the ſum demanded of their Province; but to be upon *ſure* ground, the ſum ought to be *previouſly* aſcertained. The trade of America it muſt be allowed, has been almoſt ingroſſed by Great Britain; but when the drawbacks on goods exported, and the bounties on thoſe imported are taken into the account, the trade will be found not to have been a ſufficient recompence, for what Great Britain has expended in the protection of that country. So that the predicament in which the Colonies muſt appear to ſtand, in the eyes of every one who is not blinded by intereſt, or the rage of party, is that of great corporations, capable of making local regulations, but by no means intitled to the priviledge of having independant Legiſlatures. It muſt be granted, that their aſſemblies have frequently exerciſed greater powers, than were permitted by their charters; which, out of tenderneſs to them, have not been repealed by his Majeſty; but to turn an indulgence into a right, and to

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hold it as a weapon againſt a benefactor, is to juſtify a ſaying of Sylla's, when he was inſulted after he had laid down his dictatorſhip, that ſuch behaviour was a leſſon to Princes, *never to part with a power when once poſſeſſed of it*. I therefore, my Lord, under the fulleſt conviction, that my jugdment can receive, from the moſt diſintereſted, candid, and impartial examination of the ſubject, think myſelf bound in conſcience to acknowledge it *as my opinion*, that the Stamp Act, was not an unconſtitutional one, and that the violence with which it was oppoſed, was indecent and unwarrantable. *But rights, my Lord, and the exerciſe of thoſe rights, are ſometimes found to be very different conſiderations.*

The Stamp-Act itſelf did not ſurpriſe the Americans ſo much, as a piece of policy which accompanied it. The act directed, that the duties ſhould be paid in ſpecie; and the trade with the Spaniards, which was the only channel through which gold and ſilver flowed into the colonies, was ſtopped. This reſtriction, not only put the Americans under an impoſſibility of complying with the act, but, at the ſame time, was a particular injury to this country. The greateſt part of the coin in America, after a certain courſe of circulation, ultimately centered as bullion in Great Britain. The ſcarcity of bills, the height of exchange, and various other circumſtances, made gold and ſilver, in many inſtances, the ſureſt and moſt eligible remittance to this place.

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To deprive the mother country therefore of ſo great an advantage, and to fruſtrate the deſign of the act ſo effectually, was ſuch a political manœuvre, that a man muſt be more than a Machiavel to know how to account for it.

Diſcontent became univerſal upon the paſſing of this act. Every thing was put in motion, in order to bring the diſpute to the ſame iſſue that is now depending. Petitions, memorials, and remonſtrances, were pompouſly prepared and publiſhed. The courts of juſtice were ſhut up; and merchants who had ſhips ready for ſailing, and who had, perhaps their whole fortunes embarked on board them, were threatened with perdition, if they made uſe of a ſtamp; and every one was treated as a foe to his country, if he was daring enough to aſſert, that one ſpark of virtue was to be found in the Britiſh parliament. In this ſtate of things, when nothing but riot and diſorder prevailed, an event happened, which huſhed all their clamours, the parliament was ſeized with a fit of—lenity; and the paroxyſm produced a repeal of the Stamp-Act. The oſtenſible cauſe of uneaſineſs being removed, the nation was lulled into an opinion, that the effect would ceaſe alſo; but they were miſtaken in their expectations; diſcord had taken up her abode; her ſeeds were ſown, and had taken root in a *fruitful* ſoil, and tho' the *ſeaſon* was unfavourable, yet nothing could prevent their coming to maturity. The leaders

ders of faction ſaw, that noiſe (a commodity they dealt pretty largely in) carried with it, its own price; and they were determined to have a ſufficient quantity of it at market. They became utterly diſſatisfied with the government of this country, and conſtrued into a grievance, every meaſure that related to them. The oppreſſions under which they *ſuppoſed* they laboured, were held out to the people with every colouring they could receive; and they were multiplied as much as poſſible; that what they wanted in weight, might be made up in number. The Congreſs afterwards publiſhed a code of them; but, I believe, their principal grievance was their *dependance* on Great-Britain.

I ſhall mention to your Lordſhip a few of thoſe things, which were the ſubjects of complaint amongſt the more ſenſible of them; and this I ſhall do as they occur to me, without regarding their dates; becauſe I mean only to mark out to your Lordſhip, the ground-work of the preſent rupture, which has produced the moſt aſtoniſhing ſuperſtructure, that I believe was ever known, in the records of paſt times.

A deciſion in the court of King's Bench, in the cauſe of Somerſet, a Black, againſt Mr. Stewart, his maſter, was loudly complained of. They conſidered, that under the authority of this caſe, all their ſlaves would be emancipated, as ſoon as they landed in England. They urged that the laws of America,

rica, authoriſed the condition of ſlavery: that altho' many of the colonies had endeavoured to put a ſtop to the further importation of Negroes, by laying very heavy duties on them; yet the policy of this country, would not permit them to have their deſired effect; that this unexpected adjudication, had conſiderably leſſened the value of their property which they had in their ſlaves, by making the enjoyment of it *merely local:* that it was a hardſhip on gentlemen, who, from indiſpenſible reaſons, were frequently obliged to remove to Great-Britain, that they could not be attended during their voyage, by ſervants accuſtomed to wait on them, without the immediate loſs of their dominion over them, on their arrival: and laſtly, that they ſaw no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that any of their other rights were in ſecurity, when founded on laws differing from thoſe of England, which frequently was the caſe; particularly, in that of their marriages, which in ſome of their provinces, for want of Clergymen, were ſolemnized by Laymen; and which they conceived, could not be ſupported under the eccleſiaſtical laws of this realm. The Lawyers ſuggeſted to them, that this caſe tallied with an opinion of Lord Chief Juſtice Holt's, that America was a conquered country, and therefore, that the King could preſcribe to it, what laws he thought proper; which they received as a doctrine, ſubverſive of all their rights and priviledges. I have often wiſhed,

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that a compleat ſtate of Somerſet's caſe had been publiſhed; that the perſons affected by it, might know the true ground, on which the illuſtrious Judge went, in that determination; and I make no doubt, but his reaſons would give ſatisfaction to all parties.

Another complaint was, that the offices of profit, were generally given to gentlemen reſiding in England, who acted by their deputies abroad; and allowed them as few of the advantages, but as much of the labour of office, as could be beſtowed on them. It was thought unreaſonable, that ſo large a proportion of the ſalaries, ſhould be paid to the principals; when they were at no other trouble, but that of writing a letter or two in a year; not to eaſe the deputy of any part of his duty, but to ſpur him on to an exact punctuality, in making a remittance of their ſhare of the income, which *ſeemed* to be the *only* part of the buſineſs, which was thought of any conſequence. Many people were of opinion, that this weakened the influence of government; for no uncommon zeal can be expected in any one, who is obliged to go through the drudgery and dependance of office, whilſt another is enjoying the emoluments, and fruit of his labour. This objection was better founded in the late, than preſent reign. His Majeſty, in a great meaſure, removed the force of it, by ordering his governors in chief, to reſide in their governments; which it was imagined would be ex-

tended to all inferior officers, when it could be done with juſtice to thoſe, who had been a long time principals, under the circumſtance, I have mentioned.

In the conferring of thoſe offices, the perſons appointed, think themſelves but little obliged to government; for the appointments are generally procured by merchants, who claim the merit entirely to themſelves, and the recompence is made to them in a commercial line; when that is done, it is thought that no further obligation exiſts. This leſſens very much the influence of the governor; and when ſucceſs is obtained againſt his recommendation, it becomes a matter of triumph; fixes the idea of corruption, and the office of the King's repreſentative, from the want of power, is held in great deriſion.

By the 5 Geo. II. all the lands, &c. in America, are ſubjected to be ſold for the payment of debts due to the inhabitants of this country; but the courts in ſome of the provinces had judged, that the proviſions of that act were not reciprocal. That the American had not the ſame remedy againſt his debtor living in England, and having lands in America; but muſt ſeek his ſatisfaction, according to the rules of the common law. Thoſe muſty regulations it was thought, might have been a proper mode of proceeding, in the days of antiquity; but was a very inadequate remedy in the colonies; beſides it was conceived that under this act, eſtates intail might be

be ſold for the payment of Britiſh debts, which affected one of their moſt favourite methods of limitation, in the ſettlement of their families. By the ſame act, copies of accounts, and debts, &c. &c. properly atteſted, belonging to the people of Great Britain, may be offered as evidence in the courts of juſtice in America, but none but originals from America will be received in Weſtminſter-Hall. Theſe acts were loudly complained of, and were ſaid to be founded in partiality and injuſtice. The pride of man is piqued at every diſtinction, that is made to his prejudice; and although there was not in all probability one man in a hundred, who was affected by this diſcrimination of perſons; yet it anſwered the purpoſe of clamour, as fully, as if the regulation had been really unjuſt, and univerſally felt.

The aſſemblies in America have, on many occaſions, undergone great mortifications in the repeal of ſome of their favourite acts. It was ſaid, that a ſingle merchant in London, had been attended to more than the legiſlatures of ſome of the provinces; for his intereſt alone had proved ſufficient, to procure the repeal of acts of aſſembly; when the warmeſt applications from the colonies to get them confirmed, had been ineffectual. It was lamented that the Americans were, at all events, too much in the power of the merchants with reſpect to their property, without giving them any further advantages, in the

regulating their policy. That the merchants received a freight for all the commodities they brought to market; that they *there* ſold them for any price they thought proper; and deducted out of the produce, a very conſiderable commiſſion for their trouble. That if a return in goods was made, they were paid a commiſſion for buying thoſe goods, and a freight for the conveyance of them; which, with a dozen other articles, which are charged in all the accounts of their correſpondents, ſuch as poſtage of letters, brokerage, primage, lyage, lighterage, cartage, wharfage, waterage, nailage, cooperage, watching, roling (the greateſt part of which are all clear gain) muſt put almoſt as much profit into their pockets, as is received by the induſtrious proprietor.

There was another inſtance of the repeal of an act, wherein the aſſembly of Virginia felt a dreadful ſhock in having its authority ſo contemned as they thought it was on that occaſion. In that Province the ſtipends of the Miniſters, as well as many other publick officers were paid in tobacco inſtead of money. It happened that an uncommon drought had given reaſon to fear that a very ſhort crop would be made. The aſſembly taking the matter into conſideration paſſed an act, impowering all perſons to pay their tobacco debts in money at two-pence per pound; which was conſiderably more than the value of tobacco, when the ſalaries of the clergy were

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firſt eſtabliſhed. The price afterwards roſe to 50l. per cwt. which made a very great difference in the income of the Clergy; thinking this a great hardſhip to them, and their only redreſs after the law was paſſed, lying with his Majeſty; they appointed one of their body to ſtate their grievance to him, and ſolicit a repeal of this extraordinary and arbitrary proceeding. It was a common calamity, and the aſſembly thought they had a right to interfere. The Clergy denied that right, and inſiſted, that as they muſt have been loſers had the price of tobacco fallen, they ought to be gainers, as by accident its worth was greatly increaſed. His Majeſty thought proper to comply with the prayer of the Clergy; and to ſhew his diſapprobation of ſuch an act of injuſtice; inſtead of *repealing* it by his proclamation, which was the *uſual way*, he *annulled it, ab initio*. Some acts were paſſed, with a clauſe ſuſpending their force until his Majeſty's pleaſure was known; theſe could have no efficacy, if the King's aſſent could not be obtained; others were paſſed *indefinitely*, and took effect immediately; ſo that although his Majeſty ſhould think proper to *repeal any of them*, yet it was ſuppoſed, that they had an *operation in the mean time*; but as this law was *declared void from the beginning*, it ſet aſide a great number of tranſactions, which had been intermediately ſettled, under the ſuppoſition, that the act would be valid until its repeal. This excited a good deal of ill blood between

between the Clergy and People; the latter of whom have taken full ſatisfaction ſince the game has been in their own hands, for they have aboliſhed all livings, and made the parochial Clergy *totally* dependant on the people for a ſubſiſtance.

When men engage in trade, it is natural for them to endeavour to turn it to as good an account as poſſible. When a duty is impoſed on commerce, it is from that principle, that a ſecret *itch* prevails amongſt thoſe who are likely to be affected by it, to elude the payment of it. Men are apt to be adventurous in the purſuit of gain. This ardour produces ſmuggling. It might be improper to ſuppoſe, that all the American Merchants were ſmugglers; *ſome* men will *eſcape the infection* in an epidemical diſeaſe. But thus far we may venture to aſſert, that they were all enemies to the Courts of Admiralty. The Congreſs made the eſtabliſhing of new Courts of Admiralty, and inlarging the juriſdictions of the old ones, an alarming article in all their remonſtrances: but moderate men were under no great apprehenſions about it. They conſidered ſmuggling as a game, and the Merchants as parties. If they played their cards ſo as to avoid a loſs, it was a mark of ingenuity; but if they were out of luck, they muſt pay the penalty; and a *learned commentary* had taught them, that this was an acquittal in foro conſcientiæ, being only malum prohibitum. They further thought, that

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if duties were to be paid, it was proper to ſecure them as effectually as poſſible; and that it was immaterial what courts had a right to enforce the payment of them, whether new juriſdictions were created, or the authority of the old augmented. But when the power of Parliament to impoſe any duties at all was reprobated; the courts appointed to take cognizance of theſe matters, met with oppoſition alſo. The judges of the reſpective Courts of Admiralty will bear teſtimony, that the validity of theſe acts, were never queſtioned till within a few years. Indeed the penalties of all the acts of navigation, were complained of as bearing no proportion with the offences; but the power of Parliament to regulate the Courts of Admiralty was never doubted, until that phrenzy *Independance* intoxicated their underſtandings. So far were the appellate Courts of Admiralty from being conſidered as evils, that they were by many looked on as advantages. Before the late acts, appeals from America lay to England. Few could proſecute them at ſo great a diſtance, for want of money and friends; but when a ſuperior judicature was eſtabliſhed almoſt at the door of every one, who might think himſelf aggrieved by the ſentence of an inferior court, it was ridiculous to treat ſuch a meaſure as a grievance. Some of the judges of the old Courts of Admiralty, had no ſettled ſalaries allowed them; but were authoriſed to take a *ſmall* fee in every *cauſe*, as a recompenſe for their

their trouble. Whenever a ſuit was inſtituted, caution was taken of the proſecutor, to be anſwerable for the coſts and fees of the court, in caſe he ſhould be caſt; and if he was found to have acted vexatiouſly, he was made to pay them; but if his proſecution was decreed to be well founded, then the coſts and fees were generally paid out of the condemned effects. If there was any impropriety in this, it aroſe from the indulgence ſhewn to the defendant, in not obliging him to pay the expences out of his own pocket. The utility of the acts complained of, was obvious to every one; for when the officers of the Navy were allowed to make ſeizures, and the limits of the Courts of Admiralty inlarged, ſmuggling received a very conſiderable check, which was manifeſted by the increaſe of duties received at the public Treaſuries.

The idea of having an American Biſhop, excited the utmoſt uneaſineſs amongſt all ranks of people, except a few of the Clergy. This averſion to a prelate, proceeded from their republican principles: for if they did not approve of a regal government, an hierarchy in the church, muſt of courſe be their abhorrence. The religion of the Americans differs almoſt as much as their climates; and what is remarkable, there is more enthuſiaſm in the northern, than the ſouthern governments. You may begin at latitude forty-five, and come down to twenty-five, and religion will be found, in all its gradations, from the

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moſt zealous down to—*none at all.* If the true criterion of faith has ever been hit on, it muſt have happened in that country: for the Chriſtian religion is divided and ſubdivided *there* into more branches, than are to be found in any country upon earth. The Roman Catholic religion prevails in one Colony; Quakeriſm in another; and I muſt ſay it, to the honour of that ceremonious people, that they are the moſt moral ſet of men to be met with, in any of the Provinces. I believe, that it is a difficult thing to gain an advantage over them in *making a bargain*; but their virtues lie in their being ſtrangers to thoſe vices; which too much prevail amongſt others, and which, are a diſgrace to rational beings. Another religion is to be found amongſt them, whoſe eſſence conſiſts in *canting* and *preaching*; but no precept is regarded longer, than they find it their intereſt to obſerve it. Too great fervor in devotion, is apt to bring on a ſuſpicion of its ſincerity. Preſbyterianiſm abounds; but from whence it originated, it would be difficult to inform your Lordſhip. Indeed, Scotland has been eaſed of its inhabitants, by the migration of many of them into America; but the ideas, which theſe travellers carried with them, were generally ſuppoſed to be more of the pecuniary, than religious kind. They have Fanatics, Methodiſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, new Light-men, Moravians or Dunkers, &c. &c. &c. in great a-

bundance amongſt them; the latter ſectariſts, differ but little from ſome of the former, except in two inſtances; their Baptiſm is performed by a total immerſion of the body; and their ſervice, in muſic; but their harmony, like that of the Jewiſh ſynagogue, will pleaſe none but ſuch, whoſe ears have been ſpoiled by their own worſhip. Though I have ſpoken of the religion of America in general terms, yet I hope, I ſhall be underſtood with ſeveral exceptions. There are gentlemen belonging to that country, many of whom have been forced into this, on account of their unalterable attachment to government; who poſſeſs as much true religion, and I will go further, and ſay, have as much honour as can be found amongſt the gentlemen of any country whatſoever.—The aſtoniſhment of ſome people was as great, to find a diſpoſition here to allow them a Biſhop; as it was, that the Americans ſhould be averſe to one. Speaking of Religion, it reminds me of the Quebec Bill. This act was never objected to, till the Congreſs thought it a ſubject worthy to be inſerted in their liſt of complaints. Nothing could be more ridiculous, than to ſuppoſe it to be a prelude to the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic religion in all the Colonies. A few men of heated imaginations, who may be made to believe any thing, when coupled with the word *religion*; might be under ſome apprehenſions about it; but in general it was thought a very humane indulgence, to the

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tender conſciences of the people of Canada: but the idea of its being intended as the ground-work of Popery in the Colonies, or even throughout Canada, was as remote from the minds of ſedate people, as that George the Third would ſurrender his crown to the Pope, and receive it again as his tributary, as was upon a former occaſion done by one of his predeceſſors. To tell any one, particularly a bigotted Frenchman, that he is ill uſed, becauſe his conqueror does not impoſe on him a religion he *abhors*; and that he ought to revolt, becauſe he is not governed by laws to which he is a ſtranger, and becauſe his perſon and property are not tried by Juries, conſiſting of men, whom his religion teaches him to think are Heretics; is a mockery of common ſenſe, and a ſatire on the underſtanding of thoſe, who can be thought capable of believing ſuch abſurd nonſenſe.

The fixing a new Colony on the back of the Provinces, between the Allegany Mountains and the River Ohio, which it was imagined, was a part of the Britiſh politics; became a ſubject of great apprehenſion amongſt the patriots. It was taken for granted, that this alarming ſettlement, in its infancy at leaſt, independant of deſign, muſt be a military one. That the influence of habit was ſo great, that it would be difficult, when the reaſons for the military ceaſed, ever to get it reduced to a civil government; which, at all events, would create a very great jealouſy

and uneaſineſs in the lower Provinces. But their fears became very much heightened, when they reflected, that this Colony, ſtrengthened as it would be by a number of deſperate men, who would reſort to it, might be intended as a rod over the neighbouring Colonies, to check any complaints, which their grievances might give riſe to. Petitions and remonſtrances were preparing againſt this meaſure, but were never compleated, as the report about it dropped; and fears, which were imaginary, gave way to others, that ſeemed to have a more ſolid foundation. The lands, in the lower parts of ſome of the Provinces, are very poor, owing to the long cultivation of them without ſkill or induſtry; but were very good in their original ſtate. Every ſpecies of ſoil is to be found in America; ſtiff, ſandy, wet, dry, ſtony, and all other kinds; as if nature intended it as the nurſe of all her productions. The ſouthern parts, from the intenſe heat of the ſun, cannot be made great graſs countries: but they are ſupplied with hay from their low ſwampy grounds, which, when reclaimed, become as fine meadows as any in the world. Theſe ſwamps abound with trees of an enormous ſize, which require great force and labour to remove, but when accompliſhed, the lands very amply repay the owner for his trouble. The blades of Indian corn cured in the ſun, afford a very good Pabulum for the ſtables and farm-yards. Perſons poſſeſſed of poor

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lands in the lower parts of the country, and particularly in Virginia, have, for many years paſt, diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to go to the weſtward, and ſettle with their families upon the freſh lands, whoſe fertility is aſtoniſhing. Nothing has kept them from removing thither, but the want of a proper ſtrength, to oppoſe the incurſions of the Indians. Should a new Colony give them protection, there is no doubt but that multitudes of them would flock thither, beſides many others, whoſe debts would oblige them to fly from their creditors, and which muſt drain the lower ſettlements very much of their inhabitants. A new colony can afford the mother-country nothing, but what may be fully ſupplied with more convenience, and cheaper, by the old Provinces.—But although the Americans diſcovered ſuch a diſlike to a new colony, when eſtabliſhed by this country; yet they were very well pleaſed, when any lawleſs meaſure of that ſort was effected by their own people. One Henderſon, a native of North Carolina, formerly an Attorney, but latterly one of the Aſſociate Judges of that country, inliſted a number of men under his ſovereignty, and ſettled them on a body of very fine land, to the weſtward of his Province and Virginia. The moſt valuable parts of the Fief were portioned out to his followers, and great encouragement was offered to others, to induce them to ſettle in this ſelf-created government. This infant ſtate was

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haſtening very faſt towards perfection, but the preſent diſpute put a ſtop to the rapidity of its progreſs. At preſent, there are great efforts made by the Virginians and people of Carolina, to get this Henderſon to unite himſelf to one of them; but it is imagined, he will diſappoint them both, and inſiſt upon adding one ſtripe more to the arms of America.

As the reaſons for enlarging the boundaries of Canada were not at firſt known; it became a prevailing opinion, that it was intended to ſupply the place of the new colony before-mentioned, and would be productive of greater miſchiefs, as the French, who had ever been accuſtomed to deſpotiſm, were on the ſpot ready, and in all probability willing to reduce the other colonies to a level with themſelves: but the ferment was a good deal lowered, when time and information afforded their reaſon an opportunity of exerciſing itſelf. The King certainly had a right to grant, or ſettle his land in any manner he thought proper. The neighbouring colonies could have no cauſe of complaint, unleſs ſuch grants had interfered with their limits. This could not be, becauſe there was a proviſo in the Act, declaring, that it was not intended *to affect the boundaries of any other colony*. If the Crown ever meant to make uſe of the French, againſt the liberties of America, it could be done, as well under the old extent of Canada as the new.—It was univerſally known, that many deſperate men left their lower ſettlements,

ments, and fixed themſelves in the back country, out of the reach of legal proceſs, and indeed out of the bounds of any of the Provinces; and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that they ſometimes aſſumed the appearance of Indians, went into the interior parts, and plundered many plantations with which they were before acquainted. It was therefore neceſſary, to include theſe freebooters within ſome government. Canada was thought the moſt proper, as its inhabitants were woodſmen, and would make it a point, to hunt out theſe peſts of ſociety.—The ſkin trade had been carried on in a very irregular manner, and the Indians were greatly impoſed on in their barters with the traders; who dealt with them without authority, and took every advantage they could of theſe unguarded people. Government ſhewed great wiſdom in their intention, to reduce this trade to ſome advantageous ſyſtem; which it was very plain they could, under proper regulations. Canada, from its ſituation, the extent and courſe of its rivers, the variety of ſettlements on thoſe waters, was beyond a diſpute the beſt place, when enlarged, to be made the center of this trade. A very judicious pamphlet which was publiſhed, ſtating the juſtice and policy of this Act, ſilenced, for ſome time, all objections to it; and every clamour, which was made to it afterwards, aroſe from the idea of loſing the Fur Trade, by its being transferred by this new regulation to the

people

people of Canada, and which was certainly a very beneficial meaſure to this country.

Gentlemen were very much divided in their opinions, with reſpect to the effects of a paper currency, which was introduced the laſt war, to anſwer the purpoſes of government; and which from further exigencies has been ever ſince kept on foot amongſt them. Some thought, that as the trade with the Spaniards, from whence gold and ſilver came, was prohibited, that commerce muſt decline for want of a circulating medium. Others inſiſted, that a creation of paper would be an excluſion of ſpecie; and that a clandeſtine trade would bring in a ſufficient quantity of caſh, to anſwer the buſineſs of circulation. But as ſoon as an act of parliament paſſed, procured as it was imagined by ſome merchants, who knew very little about the matter, inhibiting the aſſemblies from making it a *legal tender*, there was but one voice about it, and every one declared, that the Colonies muſt be ruined under ſuch a reſtriction. Had ſome branches of trade been left open, there is no doubt but the neceſſity of emitting paper would have been removed; but at all events, the merchants were alarmed without reaſon, for ſuch a guard was put upon it, that it was impoſſible they could receive an injury from it.

There has been an inſtruction to the Governors of many years ſtanding, to diſallow appeals to the King and Council, where the value in diſpute is under 500l. ſterling.

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This was thought to be a hardſhip to the ſuitors, and very impolitic to the mother country. It amounted, it was ſaid, to an excluſion of appeals, the birthright of the ſubject; as there are few cauſes tried in the Courts of America, of that conſequence. The judges in the Colonies may be very upright men, but never can be thought of ſufficient ability, *finally* to decide caſes that are under their conſideration. When queſtions are debated before different judges verſed in law, the truth cannot lie long concealed; and parties become ſatisfied, when their caſe has undergone a variety of diſcuſſions; but when matters of conſequence are determined by one ſet of judges, and they perhaps but little acquainted with the law, irretrievable errors muſt frequently happen, and the ſecurity of property be rendered very precarious; beſides, a judge, when he knows that his opinions lie open to the criticiſm of a ſuperior, will be more accurate in his deciſions; but when he is under no controul, his paſſions may operate on his judgment, and great injuſtice ariſe from his determinations. There is nothing which can give a greater inſight into the policy and manners of a people, than a knowledge of their forenſic controverſies. Mens paſſions are apt to kindle upon theſe occaſions; and the ſlow progreſſion of ſuits, afford them time to collect every thing they can againſt one another. Reſerve is put aſide, and every thing is laid before the judge. This circumſtance, in caſe appeals from the Colo-

nies had been more frequent, beſides putting money into the pockets of many perſons here, would have brought more information with reſpect to the people of America, than could have been collected from any other quarter. However notwithſtanding theſe remarks, I think it was proper to reſtrain appeals to ſome certain value, (otherwiſe the time of the King and Council would have been chiefly employed by American cauſes) eſpecially, under the latitude always allowed of removing caſes to England by a ſpecial mandamus, when the intricacy or injuſtice of them made ſuch a proceeding proper.

There were many other circumſtances of diſcontent diſplayed by the Congreſs, in order to accumulate their grievances to as great a bulk as poſſible; but they are of too little conſequence to be mentioned at this time. Thoſe that I have enumerated were the chief, which were conſidered by the people as indications of the tyranny of this country. Groaning, as they pretended under theſe repeated acts of oppreſſion, and fearful that greater burdens would be laid on them, the leaders of the populace of New England, thought it high time to begin the great work of independance. They looked at their numbers, and *magnified* them to three millions; they took it for granted, that their trade would purchaſe the aſſiſtance of France; and they flattered themſelves that the *ſound* of liberty, would draw to them all the valuable inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ireland. In ſhort, they conceived they had a great deal to hope, and but little to fear; for let the event be as it would, they aſſured themſelves, that America muſt be a gainer in the conteſt. As the lower claſs in a nation, do the drudgery in all arduous undertakings; it was thought neceſſary to prepare their minds, ſo as to alienate their affections from the mother country, and to incline them to act the part which was to be allotted to them. Harangues were delivered to induce them to think that their looms would be ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt very heavily taxed by Parliament; their ſkill and induſtry having become, as it was hinted to them, objects of jealouſy to the Engliſh; that their property, though earned by the ſweat of their brows, would be drawn from them to pamper the perſons of their Tax Maſters; that tea was a poiſonous drug, upon which a ſmall duty was laid at firſt, in order to fix a precedent, by which every thing they uſed in their families, would in future be taxed. The peaſantry in all countries are ripe for commotion, when they are led to believe that oppreſſion is at hand. This was the caſe with the populace at Boſton; they were fired at the idea of labouring for others, who from their diſtance could make no return, by ſpending any part of their fortunes amongſt them. The ringleaders of the rebellion, finding that the minds of the people were wrought up to the pitch they wiſhed; and being informed, that the Eaſt India Com-

pany had leave to import tea into the colonies, a large part of which was deſtined to Boſton; thought the deſtruction of it, on its arrival, would be a good ground to proceed on, as they were convinced, that his Majeſty would reſent ſuch a violation of property, and endeavour to puniſh the authors of it, and then the quarrel would begin. Accordingly when the tea arrived, a large body of men tumultuouſly aſſembled, and in the moſt inſolent and outrageous manner, went on board the ſhips and threw it all into the ~~river~~ ſea. This was done without conſulting the other colonies; for they thought that when it was done, it would fix them in making it a common cauſe; and that ſtep by ſtep, their great purpoſe might be effected. Every thing ſucceeded to their wiſh, the other Provinces juſtified very readily, the act of the Boſtonians, and followed their example; except in one or two places where the tea was not immediately deſtroyed, but its execution was poſtponed, until it could be performed with greater ſolemnity, and in a more exemplary manner. The King and Parliament receiving ſuch an inſult in this outrage, proceeded to make an example of the authors of it. Amongſt other things the port of Boſton was ſhut up, and the conſtitution of the country changed, and brought into a line more analogous to the government of the other colonies, and to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. This was moſt loudly complained of, and was thought a capital part

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of the tyranny of this country. I ſhall not, my Lord, enter into the grounds of this meaſure, as it would render me very tedious to explain my ideas of it; but I muſt ſay that there is no man who knows what a conſtitution is, but muſt allow, that no government ever ſtood more in need of an alteration in its form, than New England did. Charters are it is true ſacred grants; but the due exerciſe of the powers given by them, are equally to be obſerved, and there are a thouſand inſtances, in which it was plain, that they looked on their charters as mere blank pieces of paper.

On the day that the Boſton port bill was to take effect; faſts were ordained, and every one under pain of the mob's diſpleaſure, was bound to obſerve them with the utmoſt exactneſs. By circular letters, each colony was deſired to ſend a number of repreſentatives, who were to meet at Philadelphia, to conſider of the ſtate of America, and be ſtiled delegates, and the collective body to be called a Congreſs. Upon their firſt meeting they took upon them a power, which the Roman Conſuls had upon urgent occaſions given them, *videant conſules ne quid detrimenti republica accipiat*: all government upon this was thrown off in the colonies; the King's right to the lands was denied; the governor's power to diſſolve the aſſemblies treated as an uſurpation; their perſons, as well as thoſe of the crown officers inſulted; every province was ruled by a convention, and every county by a com-

a committee; and nothing but confuſion reigned throughout America. I have good reaſon to aſſert, that though in the *firſt* congreſs, nothing was mentioned *publicly*, yet that a majority of the members, upon comparing notes *privately* together, thought that America was ripe for a ſeceſſion from the Mother Country. Their opinions were founded on the idea they had of their own diſtance and ſtrength, and the encouragement they received from England. They were aſſured from various quarters, that the luxuries of this country had melted down the valour of the great, and that the common people were all on their ſide; that the manufacturing towns would be ruined if the trade of the colonies was diſcontinued; that Lord North had in many places been burned in effigy, and would ſoon be brought to a ſcaffold, for his adminiſtration towards them; that the minority who were their ſteady friends, were men of the firſt conſequence, and were daily increaſing, by the acceſſion of many reſpectable characters to its number; that *then* was the critical moment to make a ſtand, againſt the unnatural and arbitrary encroachments of their parent country, which from its ſituation, muſt give them their own terms; and they were flattered with an idea, that liberty had abandoned Europe, and had fixed her creſt on the arms of America, as the only place where ſhe could be ſeen, in her proper luſtre. When the Americans found they

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were deceived in theſe firſt aſſurances, 'tis aſtoniſhing, that they ſhould place a confidence in any others; but by a kind of magic the pretended friends to that country, have found means to keep up the deluſion to this day. And here, give me leave to expreſs my wonder, that a diſpute of this nature ſhould, on the part of America, find a ſupport amongſt the gentlemen of this kingdom. The point in queſtion is not now, whether the parliament can conſiſtantly with the conſtitution, tax the colonies: in that caſe, a diviſion might be expected; but whether the Americans ſhall become an independant people to the prejudice of this nation, whoſe blood and treaſure have been laviſhed in their protection; and to the injury of a great number of individuals, who from their adherence to order and duty, muſt be ruined, if ſuch an event ſhould happen. Diſſolute men, who have no regard to their own, cannot be expected to pay any attention, to the welfare of their country. Perſons of deſperate fortunes, whom nothing but the wreck of the empire can reſtore, may wiſh to accompliſh its ruin. Obſcure and inſignificant beings, like Eroſtratus, who burned the temple of Epheſus, to perpetuate his name to poſterity, may ſeize the only opportunity of making themſelves conſpicuous, by ſignalizing themſelves, in promoting the deſtruction of their country. Ambition may prompt another claſs to ſound an alarm and promote confuſion, in

order

order to bring about a removal of the miniſtry, ſtep into their places, and then ſay that their eyes are opened, and do the ſame things which they are now condemning. But that men of fortune and underſtanding; and dignified members of the church, when the Americans profeſs ſuch an utter diſlike to epiſcopacy, have expelled their pacific Clergy, aboliſhed all livings, and left the whole at the mercy of their pariſhioners; that ſuch men ſhould cheriſh rebellion, and throw every obſtacle in the way to prevent a ſuppreſſion of it, is to me the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance, that I believe is to be found in the hiſtory of man. If theſe gentlemen would reflect, that the American trade employed at leaſt 2000 ſhips, and 30000 ſeamen; that this country could draw from thence any quantity of timber and naval ſtores; that the colonies took of the goods and merchandizes of Great Britain, to the amount of three millions per annum: though theſe advantages were not ſufficient to entitle them to an exemption from taxes; yet the perſons I allude to, if theſe conſiderations were attended to, would, I am confident, acknowledge, that every nerve ſhould be ſtretched, to ſupport the honour and dignity of this inſulted Kingdom.

The encouragement which the rebels received from England, was greatly ſtrengthened by their own ſuggeſtions, ariſing from the repeal of the Stamp Act. On that day, when the Parliament reſcinded an act, which they

they had paſſed with ſo much deliberation; not from any conviction of its impropriety, but with the hope of appeaſing the violence which was uſed in oppoſition to it, the genius of England departed from her; and from thence we may date the loſs of her influence over the colonies. The Americans ſaw that the ſame cauſe would produce the ſame effect; and that if this country gave way to vehemence in one inſtance, they would in another; they attributed this relaxation not to a deſire to keep peace, but to an inability to maintain its authority. Whether they were miſtaken or not, time will make a diſcovery. Whenever a regulation is likely to affect a number of people, it ought to be weighed with the utmoſt caution and deliberation; but when once the decree is paſſed, and the meaſure adopted; if the ſtandard of violence is raiſed againſt it, *ruat cælum fiat juſtitia.* Though the majority of the Congreſs were very clear, as to independance in a ſubſequent meeting, yet, when it was propoſed to the people, they were far from being unanimous in their opinions upon that important ſubject. Some of the ſenſible part of them foreſaw the diſtreſs they muſt be involved in, if they ſeparated from the mother country; and were therefore willing to puſh off the evil to a future day; to be encountered by poſterity, as better able to engage in a cauſe of ſo much hazard and difficulty. But the New Englanders and com-

mon people of the other Provinces, who had ſeized all the power, and were become the general directors of the ſtate in all caſes, rejected every idea of accommodation, and were reſolved to break off all connection with this country. The mobs had inſtituted a mode of puniſhing the diſaffected, as new as it was curious; which kept mankind in the moſt perfect order, as it required not the ſolemnity of a trial previous to it, but was immediately inflicted on the ſuſpected, as ſoon as a number of people could be collected, in order to take warning from this exemplary puniſhment: this was called and known by the polite name of, tarring and feathering. The method of performing this elegant operation is as follows The unhappy victim is firſt ſtripped of his cloaths and ſhirt, and in ſolemn proceſſion, amidſt the hiſſings of a multitude of ſpectators, is then led and tied to a long pole fixed in the ground, on which the inſignia of Liberty are moſt triumphantly diſplayed. Near to this pole is placed a large pot of tar, with a bruſh or mop; implements very happily calculated to execute this moſt civilized puniſhment! After the people are informed of the heinouſneſs of the ſufferer's crime, which is, that he has proved himſelf to be *inimical*, (a word technically uſed on this occaſion) to his country, the executioner enters upon his office, and the criminal is plentifully ſuffuſed with this fragrant aromatic from head to foot. This is repeated,

until

until his ſkin has received as much as will ſtick to it; after which, if any part of the precious liquid remains, the culprit is honoured with a general libation of it, by putting the pot upon his head, leaving the contents to deſcend wherever it meets a paſſage, till he becomes in appearance one maſs of tar. Then this knight of the woeful figure is dragged to a quantity of feathers, and is rolled in them, till he looks like a Friezland fowl; after this, he is made to thank his judges for the lenity of his puniſhment, and is permitted to return to his own houſe, to the terror of his dogs, who are ready to devour him, where in about three weeks ſcrubbing, he may get rid of the tar and its perfume; but he retains much longer his auburn complexion, and forever after has as prevailing an averſion to tar, as a man in an hydrophobia has to water. This method of collecting votes, ſoon procured a great majority in favour of independance. An occaſion was now only wanted, to juſtify with the people of England ſo remarkable a revolution; for although the Americans had been greatly encouraged from this country, to hold out till they obtained their own terms, yet they were not very clear, that a declaration of independance would be well received in England. But they were ſoon ſupplied with what they thought fully anſwered their purpoſe; this was the act for prohibiting all intercourſe and commerce with America. This act was conſidered

as a renunciation of them as ſubjects, and ſufficiently warranted their ſeparation from this kingdom; accordingly, by a ſolemn reſolution, they proclaimed themſelves an ind pendant people, by which means they withdrew their allegiance from a prince, whoſe life is an honour to human nature, and threw themſelves into the arms of an acknowledged Tyrant.

There is no man in the community who more devoutly wiſhes that peace may be reſtored to his Majeſty's dominions, on honourable and ſatisfactory terms to both parties, than myſelf. An happy union would not only ſet this nation above all its enemies, but at the ſame time would be an advantage to the Americans. They are the deſcendants of Britons, and are allied to them by every connexion which relationſhip, language, manners, religion and intereſt can form. Experience has ſhewn, that whilſt they acknowledged Great Britain as their head, all their diſputes were eaſily adjuſted; but there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that if they were left to themſelves, their jealouſies would ſet them at variance, and that they would tumble to pieces by their own inteſtine diſſentions. Some little time ago, a diſpute aroſe between the Penſylvanians and Virginians, with reſpect to the boundary of their Provinces: the former, by extending their line, took in Fort du Queſne, now Fort Dunmore, which the latter inſiſted belonged to their colony. The

difference was worked up to ſuch a height, that hoſtilities actually commenced between them. This would moſt certainly have produced a war between them, had they been independant ſtates: but having a ſuperior to appeal to, the diſpute was, after ſome meſſages and letters had paſſed between Lord Dunmore and Mr. Penn, governors of thoſe colonies, left to his Majeſty's determination, and all their animoſity was laid aſide. The great increaſe of their ſtrength and riches ſince the laſt war, and the augmentation of their trade, evidently prove, that the hand of oppreſſion has never been laid on them; but that every indulgence has been ſhewn them, which could poſſibly be done, without a manifeſt injury to this country. Every production of theirs, which was conſumed in England, ſold at a much better price, than it would have produced at any other market. The lands, from whence theſe profitable commodities ariſe, are held under the eaſieſt tenures. To encourage their induſtry, bounties have been given on a great number of articles. Their coaſts have always been protected by ſhips of war; and armies have been ſent to their aſſiſtance, to defend them from their enemies. In the laſt war, when *ſome* of the colonies made an exertion againſt the French, though it was immediately for their *own* ſafety, yet the parliament diſtributed a large ſum of money amongſt them, to eaſe them in ſome meaſure in their expences,

which

which out of tenderneſs to them, it was feared they could not ſuſtain. A compariſon of the ſtate of America, between that and the preſent time; muſt fill every one with wonder, to obſerve the aſtoniſhing ſtride it has taken in ſo ſhort a ſpace, towards maturity. In the firſt period, it was kept in eternal apprehenſions from Canada: and if the army under Baron Dieſkaw, had not very fortunately been defeated by Sir William Johnſon, and the General himſelf taken priſoner, the conſequence might have proved very fatal to ſome of the Colonies. But ſo miraculouſly have they advanced in power and confidence ſince that time, that they have not only invaded the country, which before kept them in ſuch awe; but have alſo bid defiance to Great Britain, which redeemed them from thoſe formidable enemies. The return they have made for all theſe benefits, has been to fly to arms; and to reject all connection with their benefactors and protectors. If theſe deluded men would have waited with a little patience, till Great Britain had with its foſtering hand raiſed them to a ſtate of *real* Manhood; it would, I am perſuaded, like a tender parent, have given them every advantage at which they are now *prematurely* graſping; and alliance, and not authority, would have formed the band, by which the two countries would have been united. But all theſe favourable proſpects ſeem now to be viſionary; and the ſword, unleſs the preſent ſyſtem of

policy

policy ſhould ſucceed, muſt be the arbiter and determine the controverſy.

The war in America, though carried on in ſupport of the dignity of this Kingdom, has involved the miniſtry in much cenſure; and all the evils which have happened, have been laid at their doors; it being taken for granted, that they might have prevented them, had their conduct been *moderate* inſtead of *hoſtile* in the commencement of this controverſy. I may be miſtaken in my opinion; but if I am, it proceeds from an error in my judgment, but not in my heart. I will therefore ſtate this matter as ſhortly as I can, and leave the reader to judge, whether, upon the facts which I ſhall mention and know to be true; reprehenſion has not been very unjuſtly thrown on theſe gentlemen who have had the direction of the public affairs, during the preſent unhappy diſpute. I own myſelf an *intereſted* man; but by no means under the *influence* of any one.

Previous to the year 1767, a duty of 1 Shilling per pound, was ſubſiſting on tea, payable on *exportation*; upon a review at that time, of the ſeveral acts reſpecting that commodity, it was thought proper to reduce the duty to 3d. and it was made payable in *the colonies*, inſtead of *Great Britain*. In 1770, all the diſagreeable duties were repealed, except that on tea, which the Americans at that time thought was kept up as a monument of the power aſſumed by Parliament over them. Whether the principle of this

this alteration, was to preſerve the claim of ſupremacy over the coloniesor, to weaken the practice of ſmuggling, is immaterial; the regulation had received its fiat, and muſt abide by the conſequence. That was the period when the Americans ought to have made their ſtand againſt it if they diſapproved of it; and there is no doubt but that the parliament, upon a *decent* repreſentation, might have been induced to repeal it. But on the contrary, no remonſtrance was made; teas were imported, and the duties collected throughout the colonies, without a ſingle complaint, that was ever made public: and Lord Hillſborough's letter, declaring that the King's miniſters had no intention of propoſing any further tax on America, ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction. The Eaſt India company having obtained leave to import teas into the colonies, ſent a large quantity of it to Boſton and other places. This was certainly a great advantage to the Americans; for the conſumer was enabled to purchaſe tea of the company, 100 per cent. cheaper, than he could have done in the uſual way of importing it in ſmall quantities. Upon the arrival of the tea, the people of Boſton tumultuouſly aſſembled, entered the ſhips that had any on board, and threw the whole into the ~~river~~ ſea. And leſt this act of violence ſhould not be taken notice of, in the manner they deſired; they added every degree of rudeneſs and openneſs to it; to ſhew, that it was not done by a *thoughtleſs mob*; but with the

the general *approbation* of the body of the people. The miniſtry waited ſome time, to ſee if any reparation or acknowledgment would be made for this outrage; or if theſe diſturbers of the public peace, would be called on and puniſhed in the courts of juſtice; but nothing of that ſort paſſing; but on the contrary, the deſtruction of the tea, being publicly juſtified throughout the colonies; they very properly conſidered it, not as the act of a giddy multitude, but as the deliberate proceeding of a rebellious country. What then was to be done? Would it have been prudent to put up with this inſult; and let thoſe turbulent people go on as they pleaſed? Such a line of conduct, would only have added diſgrace, to what has already happened. It has been ſaid, that government ought to have demanded ſatisfaction before it reſorted to arms. Upon the earlieſt occaſion the aſſemblies were convened, and every meaſure uſed by the governors, to ſooth theſe unruly people into good temper; but before any thing could poſſibly be effected, they came to reſolutions of ſo extraordinary a nature, that diſſolutions became indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Beſides, ſtopping up the port of Boſton, *until reparation* was made, was a demand, and the moſt ſuitable that could be made, to ſuch an occaſion. Others have been weak enough to argue, that the Eaſt India Company ought to have ſought redreſs from the courts of juſtice, inſtead of involving government in the diſ-

pute. I ſhould be glad to know, who were to be made the objects of their ſuits; in what judicature they were to be brought, and who were to be their agents to carry on the proſecution. As to the firſt they were unknown, and it was hardly to be expected, to find informers, who would give in their names. Touching the ſecond: No one could be ſo ignorant as to ſuppoſe, that juſtice could be obtained in any court, when the minds of the people, were ſo generally poiſoned as to this country; and with reſpect to the proſecutor, if any attorney-general or other lawyer had been applied to, to act in behalf of the Company, I fancy, they would have had ſome *ſerious* thoughts on the ſubject. The enquiry which was ſet on foot, in order to find out the offenders, who burned the Gaſpee ſchooner of war, was a ſufficient proof, how futile any formal examination would be, reſpecting the perſons who were the authors of the deſtruction of the tea. The commiſſioners appointed in that caſe, inſtead of making diſcoveries, had their court made the ſubject of ridicule in the news-papers; which were filled with inſolent and ludicrous paragraphs concerning their proceedings. I aſk again, what part had government to take under all theſe circumſtances? They certainly had no alternative left, but were under the neceſſity of having recourſe to arms, the ultimatum in all caſes of general confuſion and diſorder. And if there was any error in their

conduct

conduct, it was, in not beginning their correction a little ſooner. Here again they were blamed, by ſome for ſending an army at all; by others, for ſending too ſmall a one; but being unacquainted with the Americans themſelves, they conſulted thoſe who very properly were ſuppoſed to know them beſt; and being told, that a few troops ſent over to ſtrengthen the General's hands, would intimidate the Americans into a ſenſe of their duty; they regulated themſelves accordingly. I proteſt that I was of the ſame opinion, though I was never aſked any queſtions about it. And when it was found neceſſary afterwards to augment the forces; as good ſhips and troops as ever were in ſervice, were ſent over; and the command given to two brothers, who [redacted] ſo highly approved of, that had the nomination lain with the people, theſe gentlemen would have been appointed. When the army arrived, any conceſſion from the rebels would have put an end to the affair, as it was underſtood that General Gage, had orders to act *only* on the defenſive; but inſtead of ſhewing the leaſt inclination to ſilence the diſpute, by any lenient kind of behaviour, every preparation was made for war, and beſides an hundred other acts of hoſtility; they actually made the *firſt fire* on the King's troops. Men can reaſon very well on events after they have happened; and ſome may flatter themſelves, with an idea that they would have acted with more ſucceſs, had they been

were

in adminiſtration; but I am fully convinced, and every one who was in America at the time muſt agree in opinion, that government proceeded on the beſt ground; and that temporizing with the rebels, would not have healed the diſturbance; but on the contrary, would have lowered the honour of this country, and ſubjected it to greater contempt. It is imagined, that the offer made by the rebels to ſubmit to the authority of Great Britain, if the acts which diſturbed their minds ſo much, were repealed, had been accepted; that it would have put an end to the diſturbances; but I am clearly convinced, it would have made matters much worſe; for the complying with one demand would have given birth to another, which would not have ended ſhort of independance; it would have enabled the rebels to ſmuggle more extenſively, and ſupply themſelves with every thing they wanted, ſo as to carry on the war with more vigour; and it would have placed the parliament in a very diſgraceful point of view; amounting to an acknowledgment, that they were either afraid of the Americans; or elſe that they had not paſſed an act in the reign of George the Third relative to them, but what was an improvident one. Upon the whole of theſe circumſtances, however unfavourable the face of things may be at this time; however perſons who have had no concern in public affairs during the war, from the ill ſucceſs which has attended ſome of our

operations,

operations, may triumph over thoſe who have had the direction of them; I could venture to pledge myſelf, that if the ſame plan was to be purſued with a little more vigour, than has hitherto attended its execution; that Great Britain will again poſſeſs its authority over America; and that the people of that country, when their paſſions are ſubſided, will be as happy in being reſcued from their connections with France at this day, as they were in being redeemed by the power of this country from the Canadians in the laſt war.

War being determined on, there were two ways of conducting it. The firſt, was to confine it to the ſea *alone*; the ſecond, on a more enlarged ſcale, to ſend an army to cooperate with the navy. The laſt was very wiſely adopted, as moſt likely to do the buſineſs with the greateſt expedition. Men of warm tempers and ſanguine hopes, might expect to finiſh the war in a campaign or two; but thoſe who knew America, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, muſt have foreſeen, that the ſubduing that people, would be a work of time. Either of theſe methods, even at this day, if properly inforced, would put an end to the conteſt. If the troops were withdrawn, and the ſhips left to block up their ports, and cut off all communication with other countries, diſtreſs would oblige the Rebels to ſubmit to this country: but if, with the aſſiſtance of the ſhips, an army was on foot, ſufficient to attack them in different

quarters

quarters at the ſame time, and by that means divide their power, and prevent their making *one* army, the ſtrength of the whole Continent, there is not a ſhadow of doubt, but that the quarrel would ſoon be brought to a concluſion. But a third aid is called in, terms of conciliation are offered, in order to ſtop the further effuſion of blood, and finiſh, by an olive branch, what *otherwiſe* the compulſive hand of war muſt put an end to. God ſend that theſe overtures may prove ſucceſsful, and that peace may be eſtabliſhed throughout all his Majeſty's dominions. This condeſcenſion in the Parliament, may *poſſibly* have a bad effect. In the beginning of the diſpute, the Congreſs offered to return to their duty, provided certain offenſive acts of the Legiſlature were repealed. The Parliament *then* refuſed to comply with their demands; but now, after a great expence of blood and treaſure, they are diſpoſed to come into that propoſition. This may create an idea, that Great Britain is overcome, and make the Americans more obſtinate in inſiſting on their independancy. It may alſo give the Congreſs a merit with the people, (which has been lately on the decline) in finding their aſſurances true, that Great Britain, if America would hold out, would relinquiſh the ſcheme of conquering them. In ſuch caſe, the treaty will be at an end. If it is accepted, it may proceed from a deſire to get rid of their preſent diſtreſs, in order to put themſelves into a better ſituation, that

their

their reſiſtance may be more effectual at a future day. But ſhould this amicable propoſal be rejected; the refuſal may produce one or both of theſe good effects; it may give unanimity to the people of this country; and nothing elſe is wanted, to make them victorious over all their enemies; for it will from thence be plainly diſcovered, that no grievance, but a thirſt after independance has occaſioned the rebellion; or it may create a diviſion amongſt the individuals, if not the provinces, and incline thoſe, who are for peace, to join the friends of government, and oblige the Congreſs to concur in the bleſſed work of peace.

Though the ſucceſs of this negociation is inveloped in great obſcurity, and gives riſe to a variety of ſentiments; yet my opinion is, that the Congreſs (in which the people in general will certainly join them) will *cordially* receive the propoſal, and thereby put an end to the unhappy conteſt. The diſtreſs of the Americans is at this time ſo great, that though perhaps they might be unwilling, after the parade which they have made, to be the firſt movers in a reconciliation; yet they may be very ſtrongly inclined to embrace any terms, when propoſed *originally* by this country. They may receive this propoſal, not as ſome people conſtrue it, an *humiliating* one; but as a mark of the return of their parent's affection for them, and be heartily diſpoſed to renew their friendſhip, and bury in oblivion every animoſity. They have found that their

ſtrength

ſtrength is unequal to the power of this country, which is a truth that ſad experience has told them, if we may judge from the reduced ſtate of Mr. Waſhington's army. This will probably bring them to reflection, and, when they conſider their want of the neceſſaries of life; the great impediment which the war has been to the cultivation of their lands; the diſtreſs of private families, ariſing from the loſs of many of their relations and friends, who have fallen in battle; the ſecurity it will be to gentlemens eſtates, to be exempted from forfeiture; the relaxation from the fatigues and dangers of war; the fears from which the timid will be relieved, by the reſtoration of peace, added to the appearance of a *large armament ready to act, in caſe of a refuſal*; they certainly will be diſpoſed to put an end to their miſeries, by an accommodation, rather than lengthen them, by continuing the war. But if they ſhould ſtill be ſo infatuated, as to inſiſt on their independance as a preliminary article of the treaty; my advice is, my Lord, that you never *accede* to it. Proteſt againſt it in the moſt explicit manner, and let that proteſtation be, like the laws of the Medes and Perſians, unalterable. And if, at a future day, any man ſhould be hardy enough to move for an alteration of ſuch a reolution; let him, as was formerly done, in a ſtate of Greece, by every one who moved for an innovation in government, do it with a *halter about his neck.* The cheapneſs of the neceſſaries

neceſſaries of life; the great quantity of land to be had on the eaſieſt terms; the encouragement which will be given to artificers and other people to ſettle amongſt them; the high wages they would give to ſeamen, and their exemption from preſſing; curioſity and twenty other motives, will carry over to them a great number of the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as from different parts of Europe; which will puſh them forward, beyond any thing that has been experienced in paſt times. And although the debt they may have contracted in the preſent war, will be found very large, and, if paid off, will throw a heavy burden on the people, (which poſſibly may alarm perſons inclined to reſide amongſt them) yet that obſtacle would be very eaſily removed, either by funding their money, and making their taxes eaſy to the people, or aboliſhing the debt, which would be done without heſitation, as a purchaſe of their independance. I have my fears alſo, my Lord, about the Weſt Indies and Newfoundland fiſheries; I wiſh, that future events may not prove my alarm well grounded.

Should a treaty be entered into, a great difficulty will ariſe, as to the paper money now in circulation amongſt them. I would ſtrongly recommend it to your Lordſhip's better judgment, that, at all events, they may be permitted to redeem it. It may look like giving a ſanction to what has been their ſupport in the preſent, and may be of pernicious

conſequence on another occaſion; but I am perſuaded, that it will have a contrary effect, for when the people are made to pay in *real* money for what was of little value to them, it will make them very cautious, how they will be concerned with it again. And I am the more ſtrongly diſpoſed to preſs this meaſure, becauſe I know that the friends of government will be found to poſſeſs no other money but this traſh, which, added to their other loſſes; muſt effectually beggar themſelves and their families. The ſums of paper money, which have been already emitted, exceed all bounds; and I have been credibly informed, that if the war was to continue a few years longer, at the rate they have hitherto gone on, that the American, would be almoſt equal to the national debt of this kingdom.

It is a matter of curious ſpeculation to gentlemen acquainted with America, to find the inhabitants of one colony ſo different from thoſe of another, in ſentiments, manners, and almoſt in every other circumſtance, except their language; that a ſtranger would ſcarcely conceive them to be, members of the ſame community. Hoſpitality is to be found in a great degree in ſome of the colonies, little or none in others. Pride and moderation, extravagance, and the love of money, outward ſanctity and libertiniſm, candour, and diſſimulation, are evident characteriſtics of different provinces; and yet the levelling principle prevails as much throughout America,

rica, as perhaps in any country in the world. There is an eternal jealouſy ſubſiſting amongſt them, reſpecting the dignity of their colonies. If they were to be left to themſelves, the point of precedence would forever keep them at variance. Their immediate fears of the Britiſh army, in the preſent diſpute, united them more cloſely than was expected; but if danger had not been ſo near them, ſome etiquette, or point of character, would certainly have interrupted many of their operations. During the laſt war, when the troops of different colonies were joined, and any ſucceſs was obtained by them, each arrogated the merit of the whole, to its own body; and when they returned to their reſpective provinces, ſpoke of their confederates, as men from whom nothing could be expected in enterprize of danger. And I am fully convinced, that if the Congreſs had not appointed Mr. Randolph, who was ſpeaker of the houſe of Burgeſſes in Virginia, their preſident, and Mr. Waſhington, of the ſame country, their general; that the Virginians (before they had engaged too far to recede) would have withdrawn themſelves from that body, and acted a very different part from what they have taken in this diſpute. From hence I would obſerve, that if they ever again ſubmit to the authority of this country, that their forms of government ſhould not be altered; but that they be left to go on, in their old way, as a means of preventing their forming a ſolid

union, and protracting a ſecond rupture with them as long as poſſible.

The poſſeſſion of Canada, and the making it a place of great ſtrength, ought never upon any conſideration whatſoever be relinquiſhed by this country. It will give a great command over the other provinces in general, but in particular, their back country, which I think a very important advantage to Great Britain. A knowledge of this firſt induced the coloniſts to attempt the ſiege of Quebec, and I have not a doubt, but that ſome further efforts will be made in a ſhort time, to poſſeſs that country. It will enable the Engliſh totally to ingroſs the fur trade; and with judicious management, may bring the Indians intirely at their devotion. The complaint of the Congreſs that the Canadians were allowed the exerciſe of their religion; proceeded from a deſire to make them diſcontented, which they were certain would have been the caſe, if that indulgence had been denied them; and if this country had formed the government of Canada, according to the exact ſtandard of the Britiſh conſtitution; the Americans would immediately have availed themſelves of it, as an extreme hardſhip on that conquered people; and in all probability, would have brought them to their ſide in the preſent diſpute.

I have heard a great deal of the advantages which are to be given to the Americans, but very little of what this country is to retain to itſelf. I wiſh the proſperity of America as much

much as any one; but my predelection will not carry me ſo far, as to deſire it, at the expence of this kingdom. I hope the advocates for America will allow Great Britain at leaſt ſomething more than the *name* of ſupremacy. To put this matter upon a fair and liberal ground, and to remove all jealouſies and uneaſineſs on both ſides, I would propoſe a few articles, as the outlines or baſis of a more extenſive treaty, which, if once executed, might eſtabliſh a friendſhip and union as laſting as time itſelf. I would have the acts of navigation preſerved in their utmoſt force and vigour. They are laws founded on the nature and genius of this country, and ought not, by any means, to be diſpenſed with, or impaired. Their goodneſs is ſufficiently proved by the growth, which the colonies have taken under their regulations. To make this country the center of American trade, whilſt ſhe continues to protect it, cannot, with any face of juſtice, be denied her, unleſs it be by perſons, who wiſh to ſee the 13 ſtripes of America, inſtead of the royal ſtandard of Great Britain, flying in the ports of England. The American trade ſhould be confined within its ancient limits, except as to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, which ought to be tolerated under certain regulations; and the bounties given by parliament ought to be continued. The king's quit-rents, and the manner of granting lands, ſhould remain on the old footing, except that all the large grants of land to the Ohio, and other companies

panies, ſhould be diſſolved, as moſt people I believe are convinced at this day, that thoſe grants have not turned out as were expected.

Let the laws and government of the colonies be continued; except that the coloniſts be allowed an eaſier acceſs to the throne in their appeals.

Let all principals in office reſide in their reſpective governments, and be *appointed* and *paid* by the Crown.

Let them have their aſſemblies upon the ſame footing that the parliament of England ſtands.

I have ſaid before, that the trade of of America was not a ſufficient recompence to Great Britain for their expence in protecting that country. Some annual ſum therefore, ought to be contributed by the colonies for the general ſupport of the Empire. The commiſſioners might very eaſily ſettle, from the number of inhabitants, the ſum which each colony ought to pay. I would have it optional in them to pay their quota in money, or in the commodities of the province, either averaged, or at the market price; or ſent to England, to be ſold, and the neat produce paid here; ſo as to prevent its being collected in the colonies, by a collector appointed by the Crown.

That in any war which his Majeſty ſhall think proper to declare, each colony ſhall ſupply a certain number of men for the ſea and land to be *employed in America*, and to be in lieu of preſſing, but not of recruiting. And when

theſe men are in ſervice, the annual allowance paid by the colony finding ſuch men, to be ſuſpended. When theſe preliminaries are ſettled, then let the Britiſh parliament renounce all power of *internal* taxation, and indeed, legiſlation over them. The King's aſſent being neceſſary to all laws, will be a ſufficient check to any evil which may ariſe from their being exempted from the authority of parliament.

Since it is thought proper that terms ſhould be offered, theſe are ſuch which I think upon fair grounds may be ſettled; and if once they are accepted, may the hand of heaven fall heavy on the man, who wiſhes or attempts to break through them.

As to a French war, and an avowal of American independence by that perfidious nation, I am very far from having thoſe dreadful apprehenſions about it, which ſome people entertain. The hatred which an American bears towards a Frenchman, is of ſuch a nature, that it is impoſſible that any treaty between them ſhould be of long duration. I am the more convinced of this by the French officers having left general Waſhington, which is a fact that I believe will not be denied by any one. This muſt have proceeded from ſome diſcontent; for people ſo utterly different as Frenchmen and Americans are, can never draw well together for any length of time. And if, when a common intereſt was prevailing, an harmony could not be preſerved between the *Sons of Freedom* and a few

ſoldiers

ſoldiers of fortune, who came to their aſſiſtance for one campaign; no permanent union can be expected, ſhould the two nations become more generally connected?

The view of ſaving their iſlands influenced the French councils, and dictated the expediency of entering into a treaty with the Americans. Whilſt there was a proſpect that Great Britain would be able to carry her point, France meant only to weaken her, by the aid ſhe might *ſecretly* give to the colonies; but as ſoon as ſhe conceived that ſucceſs was likely to declare in favour of the Americans, ſhe took a deciſive part, guarantied their independance, and in return received from them an aſſurance of the quiet enjoyment of her own poſſeſſions. By intereſting herſelf in this manner, in the preſent diſpute, ſhe was certainly wanting in that penetration which ſhe has ſhewn upon other occaſions. She held without a rival all the American trade; the commodities of that country, rice, indigo, tobacco, and naval ſtores, &c. and all the gold and ſilver that could be collected, were depoſited by the Congreſs in France, as a fund to ſupply them with ſuch things as they might have an occaſion for. This ſhe enjoyed without any hazard or expence. If ſhe continues to receive theſe advantages *now*, it muſt be at the riſk of a war, which will coſt her more than ſhe can gain by this trade in half a century.

The

The French ought not to have wiſhed for the independancy of America: they have put by this means the tenure of their colonies upon the faith of the Americans, which every one will allow is but an uncertain footing; for there can be no doubt, but that the French, as well as Spaniſh dominions, will be confined to Europe, if their new allies ſhould ſucceed in their undertaking, and come to a rupture with thoſe nations. After the war is at an end, they cannot be ſo ſhort-ſighted as to expect to poſſeſs this trade, eſpecially as they have not ſecured an excluſive one, but have left an opening for other powers to become competitors with her. England and Holland being commercial countries, muſt at all events take the moſt valuable branches of it from her. The Americans will, under *certain* conceſſions from this country, ally themſelves to their natural friends, in preference to a people, whom they hold in abhorrence, and which Great Britain will undoubtedly give them, ſooner than the French ſhould tear from it, ſo valuable a part of its empire. The French ſhould have conſidered, that the cauſe which they have eſpouſed, is that of perfidy; ſubjects revolting from conſtitutional authority, and contending with their parents and beneſactors; and how uncertain a dependance on men acting on ſuch principles, muſt be. They ſhould have known, that the Americans

are in a ſtate of inſanity; and that every thing done by them in that condition againſt their intereſt or inclinations, will be interpreted void, and by no means obligatory on them. If they had taken theſe things into conſideration, their conduct muſt have been of a different nature; but as the die is caſt, and things muſt take their courſe, I hope that the wiſdom of the Britiſh councils, the unanimity of our people, the bravery of our troops, and the thunder of our ſhips, will teach them this leſſon, that this great kingdom is at all times able to maintain its honour, and to chaſtize, with becoming reſentment, the folly of her ſons, and the inſolence of all their abettors.

April 8, 1778.

FINIS.